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In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds, equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals. Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other extractive industries, but its most important implications for the future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system cross-cuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

*Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region.* It will be remembered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all

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establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property — at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" (*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

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Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action—for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

## UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

4 [i.e, a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

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inherit the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñaña*, a term suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

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brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same [594] lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community.

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often [589] returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage.

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers 834 and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between themselves. 593 There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die.

## THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an 596 extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system.

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

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this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods. There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house. If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and "other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children. I was told that the young women who had not married had left the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar-

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595 589 968 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 [554] Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do [831] [837] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] [594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 428 [613] When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that [169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] [618] [587] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

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to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not feel that lineality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years, during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

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584 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they
583 hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

## SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either
[586] men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may
[595] look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of
589 a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will
[591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much
178 frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially
589 economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare. 587 178 589

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence. 587 595 [591]

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" ( *unan θomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved. 587 595 554 [428]

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally. [851] [428]

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however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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(F) (1910) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—*rukas* 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of *ruka* 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present *ruka*, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in *ruka* 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

*Household 8*: Pablo, Si.
*Household 9*: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
*Household 10*: Bernardo, 3 daus.
*Household 11*: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

(1910) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 5 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, at which time he occupied a *ruka* near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in *ruka* 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's *ruka* and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 16, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 15 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonqueo where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in *ruka* 14. His wife is descended from Cayuqueo, an original *radicado* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

*Household 12*: Llancamil, dau.
*Household 13*: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Si.
*Household 14*: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 stepdaus.
*Household 15*: Segundo, Mo, 1 Br.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died.

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

*Household 19*: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
*Household 20*: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
*Household 21*: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
*Household 22*: Pancho/Wi.
*Household 23*: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Rufiil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Rufiil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Rufiil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

*Household 24*: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
*Household 25*: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, WiBr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

*Household 26*: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichan.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Curihuntru.[b]

(1910) Troilan.[b]

(1910) Anjelita.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.